The Commonweal

October 5 1951

The German Republic

After the first year of trial

HERBERT SPECKNER

Neutralism in Northern Europe

Sweden stays in the middle

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

Keeping Up With "the Others"

FRANK GETLEIN

Volume LIV **15c** *Number 26*

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"Measuring Up" to a Saint

In France and England during the Middle Ages it was the custom of wealthy parishioners to donate candles tall as themselves for use on shrine altars.

This practice gave rise to the expression of "measuring up" to a saint.

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The Commonweal

WEEK BY WEEK

OPERATION SURVIVAL

WHILE it is widely accepted in this country that straight magazines of opinion are by their very nature quantitatively limited in appeal, and therefore dependent upon "angels" or subsidies, THE COMMONWEAL has long sought to stand on its own feet. That was one of the reasons for reorganizing the magazine on a more economical basis in 1938. That objective was actually attained for a three-year period between 1943 and 1946—before the big rise in production costs got under way.

Since World War II, however, we have again had to appeal to the largesse of our readers. Some thirty months ago $15,000 was contributed to the Silver Jubilee Fund. This sum was far short of the goal for the fund, yet it has enabled the magazine to get through the better part of three summers. Today this fund is exhausted and THE COMMONWEAL'S continuance is in jeopardy.

But one element in the present situation points the way to a real solution. For the past two years the number of subscribers has been rising steadily. Circulation this September is at a peak. This gain has come about spontaneously, so to speak, without any special promotion on our part.

With such forward momentum (and a constantly high renewal rate) to build on, a material increase in the number of individual subscriptions should not be beyond our reach. Inflated production costs could be met from normal revenues by raising the circulation level to include another 3,500 subscribers.

On the basis of past experience one thousand full-term new subscriptions can be confidently expected during the coming fall and Christmas seasons. If to these the desired 3,500 are added, the magazine will be able to meet its operating costs.

The primary aim of THE COMMONWEAL is to propound and disseminate a point of view. A material increase in circulation would greatly advance this purpose, for on the average each copy of the magazine is read by four persons. The success of the drive for new readers would therefore mean a considerably wider hearing for the magazine's viewpoint on public issues; THE COMMONWEAL'S effectiveness as a journal of American opinion would be greatly enhanced. The campaign for new readers has both economic and ideological objectives.

Last week we dispatched a letter to individual subscribers to open the campaign. It outlined the magazine's present plight and enclosed 3 introductory six-months subscription forms. The hope is that each subscriber will try personally this fall to secure at least one new reader.

One way would be to induce a friend or relative to try THE COMMONWEAL for himself, or herself, for the next six months. Another would be to select an individual or institution that would welcome the gift of a subscription. But either way the quota of one reader per subscriber does not appear excessive when it would assure the continued presentation of a special quality and a point of view that are found in no other American periodical.

This is to be a short concerted campaign. We plan to print the first tabulation of all new full-term subscriptions in the October 19 issue, two weeks hence. Thereafter a record of current progress including the number still required to attain 4,500 new readers will be published every week until the beginning of the New Year.

WE INVITE every reader—subscriber or borrower, recipient of the magazine as a gift or subscriber in his own right, regular or occasional reader—to join this battle for THE COMMONWEAL'S survival. This week's issue marks the completion of twenty-seven years of continuous publication. We have reached this milestone only through the generosity of our readers. In the next few weeks all of us will learn the extent to which people believe that THE COMMONWEAL should go on.

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New Ally: Turkey

A FEW scattered bits of information would sum up what most Americans know about modern Turkey, whom the delegates at Ottawa decided to take into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. One is that after the first world war the Turks under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk underwent a most sweeping process of modernization and westernization. They broke sharply with their theocratic past. In an unbelievably short space their country was transformed into a thoroughly secular State.

We have also some vague impressions about the vaunted Turkish Army. Long believed to be intrepid fighters Turkish troops have only recently had anything like modern armament. Their reputation as soldiers has been strongly confirmed and enhanced by the performance of Turkish units on the Korean battlefields. There is some connection between these martial qualities and the fact that for so many years neighboring Russia has ardently coveted Istanbul and the Straits of the Bosporus.

Otherwise Turkey remains comparatively unknown. When it is spoken of as a democracy one remembers the war "to save the world for democracy" in which two of our allies were Czarist Russia and tough little Serbia, then under the iron hand of the Karageorgevich dynasty.

The facts, however, would indicate that as the world goes present-day Turkey does indeed qualify as a genuine political democracy. The Democrats, the party now in office, came to power a year ago through free elections supervised by their opponents, the People's Republican Party, which up to then had run things in Turkey virtually unopposed.

So that the Turkish parliamentary democracy is a fledgling. The Democrats were taken by surprise by their victory at the polls. They were not prepared for it. They had promised much without expectation of the power to fulfil. They do not have many things to show for their first months in office.

One of their tangible accomplishments is the repeal of an illiberal press law. The atmosphere has changed from what it was under the former one-party State so markedly that everyone feels free to grumble publicly. Certain limited opportunities have recently been offered to foreign capital and to free enterprise.

The most sweeping changes have taken place in religious matters. Ataturk's revolution broke up the traditions of centuries. In response to Moslem demands for certain restorations the present government now allows religious broadcasts and the call to prayer to be rendered in Arabic. Arabic script may once again be utilized for religious purposes. Religious instruction is again general in the nation's schools.

While all this may raise the question how literally the NATO Powers and the Turks can line up side by side in the name of a common tradition, it does point to more important aspects of our new ally's role. Some would have it that Turkey today is demonstrating to the Moslem world that political democracy is not incompatible with their ancient religious traditions. Others would put it that the Arabs and other Moslems in Europe, the Near East, Indonesia, etc. will develop stronger sympathies for the defense of Europe and the United Nations, if Turkey holds an equal's place in the councils of the West. In any case Americans can but welcome the accession of this religious and spirited people to our joint defense system.

• NEXT WEEK •

MAX FISCHER reviews *The United States and Turkey and Iran,* by Lewis V. Thomas and Richard N. Frye.

"Earlier hopes that American private enterprise and investment would be of immediate and substantial aid to Turkey's economy are largely gone. Most American businessmen hold the clumsy bureaucracy of the Turkish Government responsible for this. . . . In order to counteract the appeal of Stalin's propaganda [in Iran], we will have to create conditions for economic and social progress on a large scale. This approach contrasts with our present policy of reserve. To date Iran has tried in vain to get American support on the same scale as Greece and Turkey."

European Migrants

WHEN the International Refugee Organization winds up its activities in the next few months, it will have compiled an enviable record —particularly in the matter of displaced persons. Thousands of victims of the various forms of totalitarianism have been enabled to begin life anew in the United States, South America, Australasia and other lands. A number of European countries have been relieved of some of the burden of the dependents quartered on their soil.

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Unhappily, however, the problem of the European refugee still has to be listed under unfinished business. In addition to the many now living in various European lands on sufferance, there are thousands still escaping from behind the Iron Curtain every month. These latter, according to a recent New York *Times* dispatch from Geneva, are in for an especially rough time. The information they can give affords them a welcome. But sometimes they are held in jail for weeks and after they have told what they know are released to fend for themselves in an already overcrowded area.

The extent of the refugee problem even now may be gauged from the resettlement plans of the International Labor Organization. Their object is to place 1,700,000 Europeans, mostly outside their native continent within the next five years. The migration conference opening early this month in Milan is expected to attract men from thirty nations. The ILO's eleven million dollar budget for the purpose is modest considering that they plan to resettle 200,000 the very first year. This would be supplemented by a revolving fund of twenty-five millions for grants-in-aid that would rapidly be repaid as the migrants (not all of them displaced refugees) establish themselves in other countries.

The argument for giving them a new start in life recalls the case for the original displaced persons. The United States and the rest of the less densely inhabited free world can well do with the skills, the industry, the technical knowledge and the democratic convictions of these victims of authoritarianism. Countries such as Germany, Austria and Italy would make greater strides toward recovery if relieved of their refugee burden. And who more richly deserves this chance than men who have refused to capitulate?

Gratuitous Advice

THE fact that the farm bloc in Congress is now little more than a straight alliance among representatives of the various leading farm commodities could hardly be better illustrated than by the recent statement signed by 100 members of Congress advising cotton farmers to withhold their crop from the market for a better price. From almost any angle this is an astounding maneuver.

To begin with the price of cotton is holding up well, around thirty-five cents a pound. The producers have no reason for anxiety. In the second place the system of Government loans now in force permits the growers and their organizations as it is to withhold their cotton without any special urging on the part of a sector in Congress.

No doubt there was a time when a Congressman who held the line for some leading farm commodity was by that very fact representing the interests of a considerable number of small farmers and independent citizens. Today he is more the representative of certain business interests or agricultural corporations engaged in increasingly mechanized mass production. His more lowly constituents may benefit somewhat from what trickles down from the profitable large enterprises in the locality. But it is difficult today to think of the farm bloc apart from the big grower or commercialized farming.

This is preeminently true in the case of cotton, where introduction of the mechanical picker and the shift of the industry from the Southeast to the Southwest has greatly transformed its character. It has led among other things to the industry's widespread use of "wetbacks" from Mexico; and since these unorganized workers are in this country illegally, they have no legal recourse against slave wages or inhuman working and living conditions. Such is the industry which certain of our Congressmen would batten by their legislating and their gratuitous advice.

Grounds for Optimism

IN A RECENT address to the students and faculty of Princeton University, Dr. Harold W. Dodds, the president of the university, expressed the belief that the free world is today in a much safer position than it was a year ago. "There are," he said, "stronger grounds for optimism today than existed at this time last year."

There can be little doubt that this is true, that there has been a rise during the past year in the free world's sense of security and confidence. The defiant action taken at the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference is proof enough that the free world is today more sure of itself, but, as Dr. Dodds went on to say, "it is the tragedy of the hour that one of our chief bases for optimism rests on the new military strength we and the other free nations are developing." The vast majority of people in the free world would undoubtedly agree with Dr. Dodds that it is a tragedy that we have been forced to find security

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in rearmament. Yet that is the fact of the matter. As President Truman said a few days ago, the free world can only be confident of a durable peace when it has enough military power to convince Russia that breaking the peace simply won't pay. This is today one of the principal purposes of our foreign policy; but it was not the postwar course of action that we really desired, until, that is, we had no other choice.

Most of us agree reluctantly that this buildup of military power is necessary. But it is not a real optimism we have when we think of ourselves as looking out at Russia from behind a stockpile of atomic weapons. We know what rearmament has led to in the past; we know that it is possible for us to blunder our way into the most catastrophic of all wars; we have no real evidence yet that Russia can or will come to terms with us. From all of this, despite our new sense of confidence, we derive no great feeling of optimism about the future.

One of the reasons that we cannot now be too optimistic is almost certainly the fact that we have not yet been successful in giving the coalition of free nations a sense of peaceful purpose above and beyond the doctrine of containing Communism by military might. The Administration's Point Four program has been a step in the right direction, but it has never gotten past the first hesitating step. The European Recovery Program has been a great achievement, but it appears very possible that we will let it gradually die out, instead of carrying the momentum forward in the form of a program for closer economic cooperation among the free nations. Yet it is altogether obvious that a project of joint economic planning for raising the standard of living throughout the non-Soviet world is necessary to give us some sense of purpose beyond military containment and to give a more firm foundation to the higher intellectual and spiritual objectives of the free way of life to which we are dedicated.

It is, of course, not possible to do everything at once. We have had to undertake the military buildup in great haste. But we are in some danger of putting our trust where it cannot rightly be put. We need now to undertake an imaginative program that will give the free world something more to hope for, and we should understand that the job is still to be done and that it will require vision and sacrifice of all of us. Unless we can accept this challenge in full awareness of the tragedy of which Dr. Dodds speaks, we have little grounds for real optimism.

Rebel

ALTHOUGH Aneurin Bevan, the rebellious British Laborite who recently resigned from the Cabinet in a disagreement with the Attlee wing of the Party, has announced his support of the Labor Party in the election campaign, it is indicative of the divided state of Labor's mind that on the morning after the elections were announced, a Bevanite pamphlet criticizing Attlee for spending too much on rearmament and thus bringing economic peril to the country, appeared on the stands in Britain. The pamphlet probably would not have appeared at all had the Bevanites known of the elections far enough in advance, but the episode does serve to raise again the question of Aneurin Bevan's future in the Labor Party and in British political life.

It is even possible that the most significant result of the elections may in fact be the effect they will have on Bevan's career. There are those who believe that even if the Conservatives should win the election, Bevan's star will rise, because he will then probably become the most vigorous member of the opposition and as such he may well have the opportunity of his lifetime to force his way to the top of the Labor Party and eventually to the office of Prime Minister.

Given Bevan's less than warm admiration for the United States (he feels that the United States is gobbling up the world's resources and is therefore a menace to progress), his eventual rise to power might mean additional tension in British-American relations. This is not to say that Bevan's thinking is necessarily pro-Communist (he has written: "The Communist Party is the sworn inveterate enemy of the Socialist and Democratic parties. . . . The Communist does not look upon a Socialist as an ally in a common cause. He looks upon him as a dupe, as a temporary convenience, and as something to be thrust ruthlessly to one side when he has served his purpose.") Nevertheless, if Bevan's present opposition to a strong policy of British rearmament is a true indication of the way his mind works, one can hardly look with complacency on his rise to power and on the overthrow of the more moderate Laborites now in power.

At least this much is certain: the day is long past when a British election was not a matter of critical interest to the people of the United States. We are finding out that it does make a difference whether or not we have allies, and it cannot therefore be a matter of indifference to us when the political direction of an ally hangs in the balance.

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The German Republic

After a year of living in their new Republic, the Germans are beginning to weigh their chances for a democratic future

By HERBERT SPECKNER

WHEN I went away from Germany in the summer of 1950 I left behind a country fascinated by the fear of war. In the same way a rabbit is hypnotized by the eye of a snake, the German people looked toward the East and tried somehow to adjust themselves to the danger that threatened them. The old political parties, those which were permitted by the occupation forces, had only a scattered following. Half of their adherents were people of over fifty years of age.

The journals which these parties published, lived, so to speak, in a ghetto—not because their readers had no interest in politics but because these people did not want to indicate that they belonged to any party, and they would by subscribing to an official newspaper. The "voluntary contributions" which financed these parties were for the most part made on condition that the donor's name would not appear on any list or written certificate.

On the other hand, a number of people, including a score of topflight industrialists, tried to get some sort of "reinsurance" from the Communist Party, or more frequently, from leading Communists. A year ago even economic initiative had slackened to a large degree because disaster was believed to threaten from the East. Invasion was considered inevitable; when a leading federal official, for instance, was asked why a series of housing projects was so long delayed, he raised the question of whether "all that would still make sense."

In consequence the cautious attempts of Chancellor Adenauer to make some headway in the direction of rearming—a step which had become inevitable the way international politics were developing—aroused the almost universal reaction expressed in the phrase, "without me!" This "without me" attitude varied from the conditional refusal of the Socialist Party or the timid hesitancy of the bourgeois center parties to the scornful reaction of former military circles and of the newly-reborn rightist parties. The reunification of Germany was the main political topic. The demand for this on the part of the West Germans was strongly supported by the Germans on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

And Bonn itself? In those days did it really amount to much more than a temporary shelter artificially held up by the Western powers? At that time, moreover, war broke out in Korea, which seemed to indicate how much, or rather how little, the western powers could be counted on when they were confronted by the massive bloc of power from the East. The Germany I left last summer was an etruncated country, paralyzed by fear and on the way to complete apathy.

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WHERE is this paralyzing fear of war today? A year later, when I talk with politicians from Bonn, miners from the Ruhr, Bavarian peasants or industrialists from the Rhine, I find the same feeling of confidence everywhere. People feel either that war is a question of steel, coal and gasoline rather than of political doctrines, or, in their optimism, that Stalin has already missed the European bus.

With that confidence the realization grows that the Bonn political structure is no short-lived, temporary edifice but a construction which sooner or later is expected to help support the roof of Western European unity. If the German Federal Republic has this task for the future, further adherence to the "without me" point of view is no longer feasible.

This is a decisive moment in the history of Germany. The government apparatus is really beginning to come alive. The *Bonner Bund* is the creation of the subcommittees of the parliamentary council; it has come into existence in a political vacuum; it has not taken form as the result of impassioned debates on the part of the people. It has yet to be affirmed as a political reality. One of the mistakes was to construct the edifice only on the foundation of political parties, to ignore other elements embodying considerable political power.

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IN THIS connection the German workers, organized in their unions, come to mind. Speak-

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HERBERT SPECKNER, who has returned to Germany after a year at Bard College, is a journalist who has been an active member of the Catholic Youth Organization since 1943.

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ing from a position of power, they were the first to demand that if this federal republic was to be their State, they should have the right of political co-determination along with the German parliament.

Hardly had these unions succeeded in putting through the co-determination law for plants in key industries—by dint of threatening a general strike—when they also demanded co-determination in all economic matters. Chancellor Adenauer has had much experience in local politics and is considered to be an expert on the subject of plants with joint controls. He favored the principles of joint control in the so-called "Ahlener program," an economic, political and social program embodying coalition, which was drawn up with the approval of the unions. He therefore sought to meet the demands of the unions by setting up a federal economic council.

If this council should be limited merely to advisory functions, it will hardly fufill the unions' demands for co-decision in the realm of economics. If, however, its functions should be widened to make it into a sort of lower chamber (as is the case with the Bavarian Senate, which is coordinated with the Diet or *Landtag*), then this rump Germany has in the economic co-determination law embarked upon a *social development* of the greatest importance. Also with the co-determination law for economic and professional groups it has initiated a *political development* in the direction of a corporative order.

It is hardly a coincidence that similar ideas may be found in certain Catholic Action and Christian Democratic circles in Italy under the inspiration of the social encyclicals. In France the Gaullists propose similar corporative projects as a way out of the sterility that besets their parliamentary democracy.

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AFTER years of waiting and hesitation the Germans are stretching out hands to their young state. The demands of the unions, which found a somewhat frightening echo among nearly all other professional groups, were followed by a development of almost equal importance. Dr. Bruening, the former Chancellor, had stated, when the German Federal Republic was born, that the experience of the Weimar Republic showed that now all depended on the new State's success in winning the support of the war veterans. A year of open conflicts and of hesitation is now over; through the Association of German Soldiers, which represents all veterans' groups, these men have now declared that they will cooperate in the reconstruction of a democratic state without regard to party politics.

The slogan, "without us!" has been transformed into an enthusiastic "with us!" But that "with us" is contingent upon securing a hearing and having the right of co-decision. It means accepting the duty of co-responsibility for our common fate on all national questions. Coming out now for a free Europe and ready to join hands with all soldiers of the free world, the new Association of German Soldiers takes a decisive stand at the side of the West. There is no longer place in western European politics for the fear that the Red troops on the threshold of the federal republic would at the crucial moment find allies in the "brown troops in the cellar of Western Germany."

An army cannot be built in a political and national vacuum. No man fights for a State which he denies at the bottom of his heart. That is why former generals and soldiers, who strongly opposed rearmament a year ago, now evince a readiness to bear arms, with common rights and common duties, alongside other Europeans.

The politicians, the workers and finally the veterans of Western Germany have actively espoused the cause of their young democratic state. But where does German youth stand? You will not find many young men among the party politicians. Even the most highly organized party, the Socialists, has to rely chiefly on people who have already passed the prime of their lives. In the center parties that is even more the case. The latest crisis in the Christian Democratic Party is said to be caused by the fact that the "old heads" in the party are not supported by "young legs." There is fear that sooner or later these "young legs" will march off in a different direction.

On the other hand, a lot of youthful enthusiasm can still be found among the labor unions. There is greater hope that German youth will listen to the veterans, particularly as these young people have lived through a total war in which even children were put into uniform. Just now the political potentialities of our young people lie fallow. So far the unions and the veterans have not been equal to making them an integral part of our democratic state.

Yet how can the young people of Germany be won over to a State which to a large extent neither corresponds to their idealistic concepts nor accomplishes anything practical for them. A dangerously large proportion of our young people, who are bogged down in a political no-man's land, do not boast enough energy to endure the great tensions which abound in international politics. Many of them are unable to come to decisions of their own. Therefore they are vulnerable; the temptations of totalitarianism would free them of the burden of decision and transfer their responsibility to the State.

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IN AN atmosphere like this, German young people might exchange their freedom—which

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is actually a very problematical freedom for them —for a system which simply allowed them to obey. That will partly explain why thousands and thousands of young Germans came to Berlin simply to demonstrate there for a political idea—despite hindrances raised by the police, strenuous journeys and wretched accommodations. These youths dramatically reject the appeal to ideals of freedom and responsibility and ignore the arguments of well-stocked stores and the full stomach brought forward by the West. And they do this only in order to be "led" on a path which takes them beyond doubt and responsibility. That is, without doubt, the greatest temptation to which the youth of the West is exposed today.

In so far as our young people are still struggling to reach a decision they strive for loftier goals. For a while they rallied in surprisingly large numbers under the banners of the churches. Perhaps this was mainly because they believed that the power, influence and wisdom of the churches would succeed in finding for them the shortest and most painless way out of their misery. But the hope that the two great Christian churches would unite against the common threat of atheism is today a thing of the past. That is a great disappointment for German youth.

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THOSE of the young generation who do not evade a decision go back to old traditions, to a time before the national disaster, in order to start out with the ideal of a united Europe and how to bring it about. In no other European country is this ideal discussed more passionately than in German youth circles. It was not by chance that the first European youth meeting was held not in Paris nor in Rome but at the Lorelei on the banks of the Rhine.

Today, one year after the establishment of our State and government, which at first was only makeshift, the German people are ready to put their hands to the wheel to propel their nation toward a better future. The fact that they seek to do this not solely according to the principles of a formal parliamentary democracy does not entitle the Western world to meet our new activity only with criticism and distrust. The German experience has been essentially different from that of other western nations. Is it not possible that the development of a special form of democracy of our own, based on parties *and* technological groups, may give us a government by, with and for the people? May it not at the same time provide a democratic stronghold adjacent to the Iron Curtain and encourage many peoples of the Old World to take a more decisive stand for the way of freedom?

FROM SWEDEN

Neutralism in Northern Europe

SWEDEN is a prosperous country. The standard of living enjoyed by Swedish working people is the highest in the world. It is still steadily rising. Poverty has been practically abolished. All this was accomplished under the leadership of Social-Democratic leaders without firing a shot and without depriving anybody of freedom or rights during fifty years of effort. The Swedish standard is well above the ideal which, according to Communist propaganda, should be the result for workers when Communism has reached its aim all over the world. But it has by no means impaired the development of big enterprise. According to its slogan, "Sweden stands for quality." In spite of a taxation system which is still more drastic than England's, the big Swedish capitalists are making noteworthy profits. Compared with the number of inhabitants Sweden is one of the most militarized countries in Europe. Her air force is the third strongest, after the USSR's and Great Britain's.

But Sweden is not in the Atlantic Pact and has no intention of entering it. This decision is the will of the immense majority of its inhabitants, and was clearly shown once more during the last elections. The increased war menace and armament race has only made Sweden more determined to stay out and follow its own way, which is incomparably more independent of East and West than Yugoslavia and more actively neutral than even Switzerland. The Swedish slogan is not *either* USA or USSR, it is, *neither* USA nor USSR.

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THIS attitude has recently been further developed, into a desire on the part of the Swedes to be the spokesmen for all opinion in Western Europe which does not agree with the U. S. policy and the American method of fighting Communism. A group of well-known writers, some of them with a Socialist background, recently illustrated this attitude and the reason for it in the Swedish Government's newspaper, the *Morgontidningen*. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Osten Unden, known since the time of the League of Nations, is quoted as supporting their conclusions. Outside Sweden the views of M. Beuve Mery in France, expressed in *Le Monde,* come closest to the Swedish.

The neutralist Swedes hold that a war between the big two, the USA and the USSR, which is considered unavoidable sooner or later if the present development does not change, will represent not final victory for the American way of life, or for world Communism, rather it will mean that the Iron Curtain will be moved eastwards or

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westwards thousands of miles, or at best will remain where it is, after horrible and senseless destruction has shattered the heart of Europe. Their conviction is that a war will finally mean not victors but exhausted occupying powers.

The Soviet Union will never be able to conquer the Western hemisphere, and the USA and remaining free world will never be able to conquer the Soviet Union and its satellites with their 725 million inhabitants.

Furthermore, the Swedes believe that hidden forces are pushing towards war—on the Western side private interests are investing money in war material, and on the Eastern side there is a cynical certitude that war will mean a gain in any case even if war should move the Iron Curtain back to the Volga. War would mean a further irresistible advance for Communism, not only in impoverished Europe but even more in the chronically underdeveloped areas of Asia and Africa.

Swedish criticism is therefore directed against the means used by the Western Allies to fight Communism, not against the aim itself. Since war will undoubtedly increase Communism, whatever the outcome, the main issue for the Swedes isn't to be prepared against the USSR but rather to avoid war. This does not mean that the Western world should not be prepared, because that would be the same as inviting a Russian aggression. But the West should prepare differently. The present military preparation, under American leadership, puts too much emphasis on the military and is too provocative. If the money spent on one H-bomb were used instead on underdeveloped areas, the effect on Communism would be far greater.

As for the provocative policy toward the USSR, the case of Turkey is often cited. Turkey is compared to Mexico. If Mexico was built up by Russian advisers and with Russian war material to be a military base, this would certainly be considered provocative by the USA. Americans would be entitled to feel menaced. So the Russians feel now, and they act accordingly. Many other examples are given to illustrate what is thought to be unnecessary provocations against the USSR.

It is natural that this attitude has been strongly criticized, even inside Sweden, both by the few Communists in the country and by the influential minority which favors the Atlantic Pact. Its spokesmen have been called in turn Utopians and fellow travelers, but there is no doubt that they express the feelings of the majority.

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HOW about Sweden's own chances of defending her prosperous neutrality? First of all, everything is done to avoid being mixed up in war. It has been said that the relative independence of Finland is the backbone of Swedish neutrality. The fact is that Finland is the only country within the Soviet sphere of influence which has not been occupied by the Red Army. The reason for this, at least during recent years when the war menace has increased, is that there is an understanding between Sweden and the USSR—though no exchange of diplomatic notes or even direct conversations are known to have taken place—that a Communist coup d'état in Finland would force the Swedish Government to give up neutrality and enter into a close cooperation with the Western Allies; while Sweden's accepting membership in the Atlantic Pact would automatically mean a Communist coup d'état in Finland.

Finland's independence, even though it is a relative one, is of vital importance to Sweden. Sweden's other neighbors, Norway and Denmark, are members of the Atlantic Pact. As soon as war broke out they would have to face Russian aggression. This makes Sweden's situation even more tricky than it was during the last war. But the theatres of war in this case would be so many, so extended, and so open that the Russians would first have to cope with the extremely important issues at stake in Germany, in the Balkans and in the Middle East, so it is by no means impossible that one section of the front in Northwestern Europe would remain cold and neutral, namely Scandinavia. Military experts in Sweden do not exclude the possibility that something like this would be to the interest of both belligerents.

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THAT is why the Swedish neutrality is considered to be a realistic policy, even if it succeeds in doing no more than allowing Sweden to gain time at the beginning of a coming war. In case of an outbreak of war, it is foreseen that the Russians will occupy the northernmost part of Norway, known as the "calotte" of Scandinavia, until they reach Lyng Fjord, where the first Norwegian defenses, based on the steep mountains in the fjord itself, probably would make it impossible for them to advance further without entering Swedish territory. That would provoke Sweden to defend herself and enter the war on the side of the Allies.

As the Russians would probably avoid this, at least at the beginning, a war of position is foreseen in the extreme North. In the South a Russian attempt to occupy Denmark, in order to block the entrance to the Baltic Sea for the Allied fleets, is foreseen. Even if this were to succeed, it might be done without violating Swedish neutrality. Of course what happens in the big and open theatres of war is impossible to foresee, but if Sweden should succeed in keeping her neutrality after the critical initial stage, very much would be gained, according to her leaders and according to the great majority of Swedes.

In the meantime Sweden propagandizes for what she considers the best way to fight Communism; that is, to avoid war—despite the fact that the Communist peace offensives have made the very word "peace" suspect.

But Sweden's propaganda is not enough: at the same time she propagandizes for peace Sweden is making more effort than any European member of the Atlantic Pact to get herself prepared, in the air, on the sea and on the ground, in order to deserve the help which she expects from the Western Allies in the event of a Russian aggression—but *only* in the event of a Russian aggression.

Otherwise Sweden will stay out of any third world war to the end, convinced that the present Allied policy against Communism is mistaken.

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN.

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The Young: A Lost Generation?

NOW is the season when you look out at the young in your classroom with wonder and with admiration. They are better than you were at their age. They are stronger and straighter; the girls are prettier than the girls you remember. They are brighter than you were, more effectively and efficiently trained. They are more articulate, and much more sure of themselves. They are, of course, much more skeptical than you were.

They live in a city whose former mayor, now the Ambassador to Mexico, has left behind him a dubious reputation. They live in a city in whose last mayoralty campaign each of three candidates accused each other of being controlled by mobs. They live in a city in which a leading bookmaker paid a million dollars a year in protection to public officials. They live in a city whose police are suspected of being very close to men who break the law for a living. They live in a city some of whose police were saved from trial because a bookie refused to talk in a courtroom. That same bookie told Judge Leibowitz that some of the police were his "partners," that he borrowed money from them. When the bookie, Harry Gross, fled the city because he could not pay off, his return to business was explained by a New York *Times* reporter as the result of police pressure to have him back. "But the New York police, starving for Gross' 'ice'," writes Henry Freeman, "demanded his reinstatement. The story is that they persuaded Willy Moretti, one of Joe Adonis' gambling lieutenants, to square Gross' debts so Harry could return." When, in the now famous and broken trial, Judge Liebowitz asked Harry Gross to say that any one of eighteen indicted policemen was innocent, so that the Judge might set him free, Harry Gross was silent. This is the kind of city these young live in.

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THEY live in a city where so many brutal beatings of citizens by policemen in Harlem have recently taken place that settlements are being made quietly, and out of court.

They rise in your government classes—these young—to tell you exactly where bookmaking is going on even now, in the midst of investigations of the city's crime. They live in a city in which dope—for which they have technical and colorful names—is being sold and used in some of the schools. There has been recent testimony that dope was being used in classrooms during instruction.

They live in a city in which one of the investigators of conditions on our criminal and racket-ridden waterfront was Joe Ryan, boss of a criminal and racket-ridden, murder-ridden labor union. Mr. Ryan found nothing wrong on the waterfront.

They live in a city in which Joe Ryan "maintains close working contacts with Tammany Hall leaders and the national Democratic organization." The quotation is from Malcolm Johnson's *Crime on the Labor Front.* They live in a city in which no one denies, and no one does, anything about Malcolm Johnson's observation:

> The unsolved murders on the waterfront are not the work of fate, beyond the power of a great city to control. So—my second question might well be, what has become of the Police Depatrment's investigation of the waterfront and its crime?

They live in a city, these young, where they know that the answer to Mr. Johnson's question is—Nothing. They live in a city where police swear to defend the law and take money to break it, to let others break it.

They live in a city, these clean and eager young, which there is reason to think is not run by the people, or by politicians, but by a mobster, most influential of a mob of mobsters. His name is Frank Costello. He has been indicted—but will not be tried until after election day. Mr. Rudolph Halley writes, in the *New Leader* of September 24, that "with Frank Costello virtually running it, New York City is a cesspool, an ugly running sore." There is no reason to suppose that this is overblown language.

The fact is that in the city of these student young Frank Costello nominated and elected a judge of New York's Supreme Court. His influence and power in Mr. O'Dwyer's administration is such that Mr. Halley is convinced Mr. O'Dwyer thought he could not have won without Costello's backing. They live in a city at a time when such a one as Mr. Halley can say: "I am ashamed to belong to the same party as William O'Dwyer. And I am ashamed that he is U. S. Ambassador to Mexico."

They live in a city in which the phrase "the fix is on" is as familiar to them as breath.

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WE ARE expected to teach them that our country is distinguished from others by its respect for human dignity, that the government is subject to the law, that the rights of men are protected and defended, that all are equal before the law, and that for no reason will men be discriminated against. We teach them about the Bill of Rights and maintain that among the freedoms, which distinguish us from captive states, is freedom of the press. We are expected to be angry about the noxious case of William Oatis. But in Louisiana newsmen are indicted for "defaming" men who are confessed gamblers.

The blonde girl in the blue dress has read Senator Kefauver's book, and she has notes on it. She reminds you that he writes:

> It is a fearful thing to contemplate how close America has come to the saturation point of criminal and political corruption which may destroy our strength as a nation.

You wonder that she has found it necessary to take

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any notice when she lives in a city where every day crime, in one form or another, documents itself for her moral edification.

All about them in this great city as well as in others, daily life contradicts what you are teaching them. The theory is greatly at war with the facts. Those who are paid to enforce the law do not enforce it. What kind of legal rulings do you expect from a judge who owes his election to a gangster?

You tell them that ours is a government run by the people. That is the theory. But you tell them with embarrassment, and you look at them for the skepticism to show in their eyes. For all around them the evidence contradicts you.

The young baffle you because they are fundamentally innocent and believing. No one is so wholly moral as the young. For they believe in their hearts. They are not as tired as you are. They are not old enough to have had their dreams defeated. If they are not the pure in heart nobody is.

In your personal relationship with them you talk to them with a certain tenderness. You are constantly aware that the girl is very like your daughter, the boy like your non-existent son. More years of their lives ought to be allowed them, you think, before the ideals you expect them to possess are so brutally affronted. I would not want to be as young as they are at this period of our history. It must be difficult for them to find some soil in which they can put down the roots of belief.

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I HAVE been reading a beautifully written novel by William Styron. It is called *Lie Down in Darkness*. In it Peyton Loftis, a bewildered and bewildering young girl, says this: "Those people back in the Lost Generation. Daddy, I guess. Anybody who thought about anything at all. They thought they were lost. They were crazy. They weren't lost. What they were doing were losing us."

I do not understand how we think we will not lose these young if all we do is preach to them. We expect teachers to drench the young with idealism and with morality. We expect our teachers to be saviors. All criticism of American education proceeds on that assumption. What is being asked for, in the name of salvation, is hypocrisy. For it is asking that the young remain ignorant of the facts of life.

The young are perfectly capable of saving themselves. They are, it seems to me, remarkably intelligent and courageous. They live in a world constantly shadowed by guns which they may be asked to pick up and shoot. Their life expectancy is a good deal less than mine was at their age.

But if virtue can be taught at all, it can hardly be taught in a country so clearly corrupt as ours is becoming. The shame of our cities is the shame of our lives. If the young grow to virtue it will be in spite of our example. If they infuse our public life with virtue it will be a triumph of their own. If they save our world for freedom and for decency they will have given to most of us more than we deserve.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

The Stage

OUT WEST OF EIGHTH

PLAYWRITING is an exceptionally difficult craft, and many promising plays fail because somewhere along the line the tooling job has gone awry. Some plays, however, are dead from the word go, and "Out West of Eighth" is one of them. It isn't that the original inspiration for the play is impossible. The story idea suggests a likely enough farce: a bunch of rodeo cowboys are landed in a New York hotel, somewhere near Madison Square Garden. There is a good comic contrast in the setting, and room for plenty of comic situation to develop thereafter. But between the time when he got the idea for his show, and the time when he put pen to paper, author Kenyon Nicholson must either have lost heart or made too great haste.

From the first curtain to the last, he has been unable to provide a single funny line, a single bright event, a single attractive character. The play has a ghostly quality: the comic spirit has departed this world but its cadaver keeps walking around. This is plainly "out of touch" writing: you can feel the sinking sensation with which Mr. Nicholson must have gone about his work, plodding his deliberate and finally desperate way, perfectly aware that nothing good was turning up yet morally unable to stop, tear up the manuscript, and start over. Now this sort of thing does happen to competent people: an author occasionally finds himself enveloped in a creative vacuum from which he cannot free himself except by writing a bad play through in the hope that it will clear his system for the next one. And because Mr. Nicholson has demonstrated his competence before, you are inclined to forgive him this one.

You are harder put, however, to forgive the people who stood by and let Mr. Nicholson exhibit his momentary sterility in public. Indeed, they did more than stand by, they worked hard to get the thing on the stage of the Barrymore. And they are not amateurs, either: they should somewhere have called a halt. Courtney Burr, who produced it, has picked winners before; Marc Connelly, who began the direction, is a Pulitzer Prize winner; Burgess Meredith, who took over the direction, is one of the most widely experienced actor-directors of our time. Mr. Meredith did, as a matter of record, have the wit to get his name off the credit sheet before the play opened. But that all these gentlemen, together with the backers who put up sixty-five thousand dollars for a hotelfull of scenery, should have let it open at all must remain one of the more perplexing theatrical mysteries.

The actors were valiant. Barbara Baxley even managed to make you feel that you wanted to see her again, and I hope I have indicated enough of the evening's quality to suggest what a personal triumph this was. (*Closed at the Barrymore*)

WALTER KERR.

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Keeping Up With "the Others"

By FRANK GETLEIN

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, Mark Rampion said to Philip Quarles: "The first step would be to make people live dualistically, in two compartments. In one compartment as industrialized workers, in the other as human beings. As idiots and machines for eight hours out of every twenty-four and real human beings for the rest."

Philip asked, "Don't they do that already?" and was answered: "Of course they don't. They live as idiots and machines all the time, at work and in their leisure."

Rampion's view of modern urban life has been shared by a lot of people, including a lot of Catholic social critics, though many of the latter would not go along even with the "first step" of his solution. That very first step is seen as a retreat from the problem and some Catholic critics or reformers refuse to consider it. They are attempting to bring sanity and humanity back again to work as well as to leisure: by resettling people on farms, by sponsoring craft movements of one kind or another, a few by half-wishfully anticipating the East-West Armageddon which shall destroy industrialism at a blow and allow us to start from scratch with the Gospels and forty acres and a mule for every man.

But for all the critic-reformer's refusal to accept Rampion's dualistic living, that is precisely the solution adopted by, or forced upon, many Christians in their pilgrimage through the 20th century city. They live as idiots and machines for eight hours a day and for the rest as "real human beings." Their other life can influence, must influence, their conduct in the work life, as for instance their treatment of their working companions and their effort to give an honest day's work. But the work, as a thing in itself, remains largely unaffected by the spirit of the people who do it. The Christian in such work may become a saint in the shop, but he will be a saint in daily martyrdom rather than in community living.

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IN *The Lonely Crowd, A Study of the Changing American Character,* by David Riesman (*Vol. III in the Studies in National Policy, Yale,* $4) the author would seem to accept both Rampion's description and his proposed remedy; indeed, Riesman would apparently continue the "first step" through the remedial process and incorporate it into the final structure of good social health. We can only say "seem" because the author has a poetically ambiguous style throughout the book. If he does not embrace, he certainly flirts with contradictories almost from the beginning. In the final passages, wherein is discerned a rosy dawn, he constructs an elaborate, and really quite enchanting, fugue upon a dreamy 'perhaps.' The prophet, with whom we have been sitting outside the city gates and bemoaning the madness within, suddenly gets to his feet, throws off his rags and reveals himself as Dr. Pangloss after all. When he breaks into a lyrical "All is for the best in this best of all possible worlds," the reader is more than half inclined to join in the refrain.

Mr. Riesman is concerned with the 20th century urban American who enjoys a fairly comfortable income. As background he uses western history from medieval times on, stressing the last century.

For Mr. Riesman, social character falls into three groups, any one of which can be so dominant as to give its mark and name to an individual or an epoch. The first, that of the middle ages, he calls "Tradition-directed." The term is self-explanatory. The tradition-directed man in a tradition-directed society had a much easier time of it than either of his successors. On the other hand, his achievement was not so great. This is obvious in material matters, since, in the Riesman synthesis, his very existence was dependent on the primitive state of technology as well as on the population pattern of the times. That it may also be true spiritually is at least possible in the light of the expressed gratitude of modern saints and popes for the privilege of living today.

The successor to the man directed by tradition was the "Inner-directed" man of the 19th century, who was described in detail by Weber and Veblen. The inner-directed man wasn't really what his name says. The goal that directed him was inner all right, but it got inner in his childhood and adolescence. The goal itself could have been salvation or personal sanctification, but more often was in fact fame and/or riches. This goal he pursued with a single-mindedness quite foreign to his present day successor and a clear consciousness unknown to his medieval forebear. Although inner directeds were obviously present in great numbers in Renaissance Italy, Mr. Riesman follows Weber in perceiving him as distinctively Protestant, rather than Catholic, and Calvinist rather than Lutheran. In his work he was concerned with the "hardness of the material" rather than with the "softness of the personnel." From his work, which was the dominant thing in life, the inner-directed could "escape upward," via travel, art acquisition, the Chautauqua, religion, or downward to the brothel, the occasional drinking bout or poker game. Whatever his escape, he saw it as escape, as a temporary let-down from the pursuit of a definite, usually material goal: there was a railroad to be built, an oil-market to be cornered, a fortune to be made.

A number of factors combined to bring into being, or to allow the dominance of, the third social character

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type, the "Other-directed." He is the man of today. In the foremost place among these factors, Mr. Riesman would put population, which is now on the decline, and technology, which has eliminated many of the "material" problems that required the constant attention of the inner-directed even at the turn of this century.

To focus on the differences among the three types, Riesman compares their sanctions for behavior. The tradition-directed stayed in line primarily from fear of being shamed. There was a kind of protocol to follow, but beneath the protocol a great deal of actual freedom was possible. This was demonstrated by Erasmus and Galileo.

The inner-directed, on the other hand, absorbed a set of principles rather than any externalized pattern of behavior. It did him no good to appear to conform, since his sanction was not shame, but a feeling of guilt. The goal was clear, the pursuit was his duty. He was directed by a kind of gyroscope within, one which had been set in motion by his parents and a very few other people in early childhood.

By contrast, the modern other-directed is equipped with a psychological radar set. He is guided by, and therefore on the watch for, signals from a vast array of "others." As Mr. Riesman observes, whereas the inner-directed might follow a star, the new man tries to follow the Milky Way. Rather than shame or guilt, his sanction is anxiety. He frets over whether he is in tune, on the beam, hep. In the main, there are two sources for the signals the other-directed is so anxious not to miss: his "peer-group," or a "peer-group" to which he aspires, and the "Media." The media are the mass-circulation magazines, the movies, radio and television programs.

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AS MANY commentators have pointed out, our economy has switched from preoccupation with the frontiers of production to preoccupation with the frontiers of consumption. It is, of course, on these frontiers that the other-directed operates. He is a consumer before all else; it is his taste in consumption for which he seeks approval from the peer-group. From the media he looks for example.

The marks of a world oriented toward consuming are everywhere visible. In popular music, for instance, there has been a shift from a desire for the competence and virtuosity of the jazz performer to a search for "sincerity" in the crooner. The motion picture performer has become a "personality" rather than an actor, and is rated for personal qualities rather than artistic ability. The ubiquitous radio, according to Riesman, is an attempt not so much to drown out the anxieties within as to keep in touch with the "others."

In politics, apparently to the sorrow of the author, the other-directed is likewise a consumer. He discusses politics as he discusses sports; his devotion is to various political personalities rather than to political opinions. In his work, the other-directed is much more concerned with the "softness of the personnel" than with the "hardness of the material." Into his pattern of living fit very comfortably and naturally such modern industrial decorations as personnel departments, chatty plant newspapers, public relations men, safety directors. The ideology of "free enterprise" still exists, but it has become associated with the "public good." When the other-directed businessman speaks of himself as a "trustee" for the nation, he is no longer the hypocrite his predecessor may have been.

The modern man, then, in all fields, wishes to be liked, wishes to do whatever is being done, wishes to conform, with a small allowance for marginal differentiation. While his work has become more play-like, allowing for casualness and a concern for the welfare and feelings of others, his play has become more like work. It is less recreating for him than his predecessor's rowdy night out or evening of culture. His anxiety to conform is even more acute in leisure than at work. Yet, this mode of the other-directed is not the same as "keeping up with the Joneses." No mere possessions will earn him the kind of approval he wants from Jones; rather it is his very being that is up for rating, and it is with himself that he will tinker to make the grade.

Had one the wit of a Communion-breakfast speaker, he might object at this point that these three character types ignore the most significant of all types: the "Upper-directed." The objection is not entirely valid, for, from his own point of view, Riesman has provided place for the religious person. We have all known, from childhood up, Christians who are so because they are tradition-directed, and inner-direction is equally familiar in the religious life. We must also admit the presence of uncounted other-directeds in every movement within the contemporary Church. The religious other-directed may use *The Sign, The Catholic Worker, The Catholic World, The Brooklyn Tablet, Integrity* (or, for that matter, THE COMMONWEAL) as his media; his peer group may center on a local curate, a professor, or the leader of a movement.

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FOLLOWING Rampion, Riesman gives up work for lost. He does recommend that it be depersonalized, for he feels that much of the drain of the other-directed is energy accounted for by the effort to turn the office or the shop into a club. But he has a rather old-fashioned belief that technical progress will gradually eliminate the work in work; that people will be able to work less and less, play more and more. Like Rampion, he therefore concentrates his hope for the future in play. Apparently he believes that the corporation director's desire for the approval of others will lead him to distribute profits in such a way as to make all this possible.

At any rate, if it becomes possible for more people to enjoy more play, Riesman recommends the training of "avocational counselors" as the best bet for the eventual autonomy-at-play. And the kind of play seen in the rosy dawn is interesting, too. It is consumption raised to a fine art, universal connoisseurship, with taste-exchange as the highest goal. The other-directed, because of the pressure from the media and the peers, has already more

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competence in taste than he realizes. The avocational counselor will bring him to realize his own competence; he will guide him onward and upward in the mystique of the future: the perfection of taste in exotic foods, in spectator sports, in sex, in entertainment, and the exchange of opinion and taste with others.

The hard realities that stand between this moment and the Utopia of the taste-exchange are too obvious to require detailed exposition. To mention one, Mr. Riesman assumes that the more equitable distribution of corporate income that now prevails is the result of the manager's desire for approval; it is due to his concern for what others, his employees, his colleagues, think of him. Actually, as any union official knows, almost every social or economic gain the workingman has made has been forced down management's throat, either by union activity or the threat of it, or by government decree. Again, although he warns against drawing that conclusion, Riesman's whole book gives the impression that the majority of Americans are now other-directed and vitally concerned with consuming the right thing in the right way. Actually the majority of Americans are presently concerned with consuming enough to keep alive, and the even more interesting problem of where to get the consumable goods.

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AS FOR the play theory itself, it may be asked whether many of the psychic values of play vanish when they are consciously sought in play. The examples of Hawthorne in his customs house and Thoreau in his surveyor's outfit aren't really valid: neither was a consumer in his "spare" time. On the contrary, each was doing productive work off the job, held the job only to get consumable goods as a means to the productive end. Nor is Oscar Wilde quite the pure connoisseur he seems. Wilde can give the impression of operating primarily on the taste exchange, but behind the façade of neckties and cucumber sandwiches the man was industriously turning out a stream of literary work.

One final regret must be that in looking at his subject Mr. Riesman saw no need to mention religion at all as a factor in the subject's life. This is no objection to the book: you have to call them as you see them.

It would be unfortunate if the implication of the above remarks were that Riesman's book is worthless and should be ignored by people of good sense. This would be far from the truth. The main body of the work is one of the most penetrating and comprehensive views of the 20th century urban American you're likely to find. The psycho-sociological analyses of various specific items from the media as well as of the media themselves, are well worth time and thought. The author's style is a delight; sociologists can sometimes be understood only with a phrase-book, but Mr. Riesman just isn't that kind. His prose is respectably literary. Indeed his sound literary instincts may partly explain his disappointing happy ending.

The Pope's Children War Relief

—founded to rebuild youth wrecked by Nazi indoctrination—NOW CARES for children escaping from the iron curtain. Children still terrorized from communistic prison camps are being rehabilitated. That youth *now* needs American aid. Tomorrow will be too late.

Is it not cheaper to educate European youth with proper ideals—now—than fight another war?

Soviet agents spy throughout Europe stealing youth. What are we doing to counteract this crime?

The children of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Ukrania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Germany and Austria under communist domination have no hope for tomorrow. The CHILDREN OF DISPLACED PERSONS— the CHILDREN OF REFUGEES from these lands are the ONLY HOPE FOR TOMORROW!

Permanent peace can be achieved by aiding Displaced Persons. Over a period of many years Russia sabotaged American relief—because Moscow wanted these people to becom its pawns. Russia felt they were vitally important—are we going to continue to neglect them?

We can no longer overlook the importance of Displaced Persons. Most of them are of our faith. Give them—now—proper Catholic education and teach them the American way of life.

A Catholic education for Catholic refugee children is as essential as are basic war materials.

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Juggling and the Later Mann

By KARL STERN

IN THE year 1900 a young man in Munich mailed a big parcel to a publisher in Berlin. The parcel contained a huge unwieldy manuscript of a novel, written long-hand on foolscap, both sides of each leaf covered. This was the beginning of an entire epoch in German letters, the epoch of Thomas Mann. The novel described the decline of a family through several generations. It was written in beautifully lucid prose, and with equilibrium of epic breadth and sense of proportion, of detachment and closeness, of tenderness and irony—so much so that the world of readers, emerging with the young writer from the nether world of the German Imperial era, sensed something classical. There was an immediate reaction on the part of the readers which is perhaps best designated as a sense of gratitude. This experience was often repeated. Soon a sort of love relationship developed between writer and readers, a sense of communication and recognition, as had hardly existed in German literature since the time of Goethe.

The theme of that novel lay in the air. It was subsequently treated by other, non-German, writers. (Tolstoy, apparently not aware of the young man's work, remarked that someone ought to treat that very subject in a "long novel"!). This, too, repeated itself. That is to say, Thomas Mann on subsequent occasions treated subjects which concerned the European family and had to be gotten on with. In the *Magic Mountain,* for example, he dealt not only with the illness of German man (particularly in its specific phase between the two wars) but with the European illness in general, and finally with illness itself and its mysterious philosophy.

Thomas Mann has often hinted that that which gave the impression of the "classical" was not bought without great sacrifice. After all, his true origin is characterized by the name of Richard Wagner. This is a strange port of embarkation. Mann soon recognized how dangerously Wagner had played with the irrational, and he saw, as Nietzsche had seen before, the forces which had been unleashed. To Nietzsche Wagner was not only an artistic phenomenon but with uncanny perceptiveness he recognized all his historical implications. So did Thomas Mann.

Wagner's representation of the irrational and magic in Love and Death was the most effective and ferocious attack on the Christian spirit of Europe, much more effective and terrible than the French rationalism of the Eighteenth Century. Both Nietzsche and Thomas Mann perceived that this kind of romanticism was not just a twist in the history of art but heralded a horrible cultural and political disaster. Spengler once remarked that the break between Nietzsche and Wagner was the "last great event" in German history. He apparently meant something similar and here, for once, Spengler's love for sweeping formulae seems justified.

★

MANN, who had, in a painful process of metamorphosis, stripped the German off and became a European, attempted to educate the German people to do the same. A lot of his courageous, sometimes quixotic, work between the two wars has to be understood in these terms. However, his attitude towards Wagner, his master, remained ambivalent. It is no coincidence that his most beautiful pages on music deal with Wagner, and often one feels as if he grasped Bach or Mozart not with the same natural immediacy but in some cerebral roundabout way.

Nietzsche, in rejecting the irrationalism of Schopenhauer and Wagner, was lost. The only optimistic philosophy of Europe, that of Christianity, he could not accept. Thus, this tragic Prophet molded his own God and wandered into darkness.

Thomas Mann, more urbane and more "bourgeois," saw in the political ideal of the Western peoples the only antidote against the German neurosis. (He often pointed to the "unpolitical" German as a representative of this sickness.) At times, however, it appears almost as if he were estranged from the religious core, the only life-giving principle of that ideal. Moreover, the Wagnerian in him is still alive. This strange rift becomes again obvious in his latest work.

The Holy Sinner (*Knopf.* $3.50) has as its basis a legend, recorded by Hartmann von der Aue. It is the story of Grigorss (Gregory) who is the offspring from an incestuous love of brother and sister. He spends the first seventeen years of his life on an island. Later he liberates and marries his own mother. This act of incest within incest is atoned for in a most horrible way. Grigorss is chained to a naked rock in the middle of a lake. He is nourished in a peculiar way by some substance emerging from the rock. His countenance changes gradually under the impact of the seasons so much that he resembles a hedgehog rather than a human being. After seventeen years of penance the sinner, by miraculous events in which the grace of God manifests itself, is pardoned and finally elected Pope.

★

WHEN a great German writer in 1950, after seventeen years of exile with his homeland torn in two, its towns destroyed, chooses such an eminently spiritual plot as the basis of a novel one would expect to be shaken. However, if the writer meant to elevate us and himself, his intention is so much buried under a most consciously intended hedgehog surface of masquer-

---

KARL STERN is a psychiatrist and the author of Pillar of Fire.

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ade, "irony" and mannerism that it becomes nearly imperceptible. The story is told by an Irish monk, Clemens (in the world, Morhold) who, for an Irish monk (let alone a medieval one) exhibits an astonishing knowledge of psychoanalysis, Anatole France, etymological mysteries, and Thomas Mann. Father Clemens' linguistic mannerisms often come pretty close to the "quoth he" variety of the nineteenth century medieval novel. At times he goes jabberwocky, gets into danger of outgrabing the mome raths, and you expect the vorpal blade to go snickersnack at any moment. Clemens does not show much understanding for the spiritual core of his story. Although he seems to despise German monks he succeeds in imitating a Northern German who is either so bashful with regard to the Holy that he hides his feelings under a mask of "irony," or who wants to reduce the supernatural to the natural.

Nietzsche once said that what he resented most in Wagner was the appearance of the "actor" in music. What he meant was that Wagner used music, that pure and undefiled form of expression, merely for trappings, in order to obtain an "effect." One gets that same Wagnerian impression in reading *The Holy Sinner*. Wagner, too, took ancient legends of Sin and Penance as a frame. He, too, juggled with ancient forms of style. In the "Nibelungen" he used ludicrous alliterations. In the first act of "Die Meistersinger" there is a most characteristic passage in which a Bach-like chorale (if one does not listen attentively it does sound like a manifestation of sixteenth century piety) is constantly interrupted by wooing melodies in the orchestra (which are of undoubted nineteenth century origin)—to me both always sounded equally untrue.

But Wagner had a genius for this sort of thing, and our Irish monk (he should thank God for it) has not. Thomas Mann is at his best when he comes closest to his classical, one is almost tempted to say "Latin", ideal such as in his early novels and in his essays. Some of the latter are the best representatives of their kind in German literature. He is at his worst whenever he goes into a juggler's play of "irony and deeper significance." This speaks actually in his favor. Perhaps it is something specifically German that one cannot be a moralist and a juggler at the same time.

Of Note

The West in the East

THE following provocative remarks are from an editorial in *The Tablet* of London (128, Sloane Street, S.W.I., London, England):

> That British progressive opinion which is inclined to smile sardonically at the American gullibility about Japanese democracy is just as gullible about Indian democracy. The overriding truth about the Indian sub-continent is that its different races and religions have only one thing in common, that they have never been democrats, that they have always been ruled from above, and that the strong emotions which direct their lives are religious and racial, and generally exclusive and intolerant. . . . They can depict Nehru and his associates as men really engaged not in realizing Indian independence, but in perpetuating western imperialism, in its profoundest and most intimate sense, in the ideas and beliefs it inculcates, secular progressive material ideas infinitely removed from the age-old beliefs of the Hindu religion.
>
> If we want a rough parallel we can find it in the history of the last fifty years in the Union of South Africa, with the gradual relentless re-emergence of the old authentic Boer tradition, coming out of the old Testament religion of the Boers; something enlightened and modern by comparison with authentic Hinduism. The truth is that the thin crust of westernized intellectuals have only had a political contact with the Indian masses, they could lead them only in political agitation to proclaim to share their aspiration to be free of an alien Raj, though they themselves have spent their ceaseless days and nights articulating and intensifying that aspiration among peoples to whom it had never occurred to think of the government except as a part of the hard-order of Nature, to be patiently endured like so much else.
>
> The great weakness of the western democratic faith is that its acceptability comes from its emphasis on freedom, it invites people to be themselves, blithely assuming that those selves will be amiable, sensible, mildly progressive, and eminently pacific. It was with this confidence that the Versailles peace-makers set out to establish democracy among the Germans, and through the succession states of Europe, and soon learnt that all they had really set up was an arena in which they had given the signal for the struggle for power to begin, and that in the struggles for power the pacific democratic virtues were very grave handicaps.
>
> If this proved true of Europe, we can envisage what will prove true in Asia; and we should draw the conclusion that by far the best chance of maintaining law and order, settled and peaceful conditions, for tens and hundreds of millions is that the great powers in the free world shall be active in Asia, able and ready to accept joint responsibilities for helping to maintain the essentials of government. They must do so if those with savings from the more developed countries are to invest in Asia, as they in their turn must do if the poverty of Asia is to be diminished. . . . What is needed for the Asiatic countries . . . is written constitutions to establish the idea of the state as something permanent.

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Party Going. Henry Green. Viking. $3.

WE HAVE paid at least one penalty for not being Englishmen, in that we have not been allowed to enjoy the growth of Henry Green's art in the natural, organic order pertaining to all things human and mortal. We have not been easily able to observe sequentially his promise, growth, maturation, and—possibly—decline. Instead, we saw Green burst upon us like a sport, two or three years back, with the shattering brilliance of ripe art in its perfection. *Loving, Back, Nothing*—by an unknown, even a rich manufacturer—made us catch our breath in admiration. We weren't prepared for them. It was as though we went on a blind date and Nausicaa or Helen turned up. Not until later were we to see, anachronistically, the little girl behind Helen, clean-limbed and smooth, but unripe, a little unsure, and a little dull.

Such is *Party Going,* the latest of Green to be published in America, but in reality one of his earlier novels, written in the thirties, some ten years before *Loving.* It is a book which collectors and devotees of Green will want and, for various reasons and in varying degrees, enjoy, but it will not, I think, win him new acclaim or new readers. Briefly, it's the story of seven or eight (it's sometimes hard to tell how many; they are occasionally so indistinguishable from each other that we echo the cab driver in the book who says, "Another bloody one of those") young and youngish prewar London sophisticates who are four hours fog-bound in a metropolitan railway station and station hotel as they await the boat train to a holiday in France. Obviously, the action is slight; all interest centers in character as it reveals itself, through Green's own kind of dialogue, in a little island of relative comfort and luxury in a sea of fog-harried humanity.

But it is tedious character that reveals itself so well here—amused but seldom amusing, bored and often boring, and always competing, in Green's words, in how well it is doing well and doing well is getting off with the rich man in the party. That man is Max, the host, who is always being sold more than he need buy—and that heavy and thick and fake, even the women, two and three deep around him, with their seagull cries and sunflower faces. They are all of them, I suppose, true, but they are all of a sameness, and the range is narrow and flat.

It is rather when we get to the periphery of these people that we find life and warmth and reality: their servants—like Thomson, with his rich promise of the below-stairs world of *Loving,* who always "had a cup of tea if his mind ran for too long on girls, that is when he had no girl ready to his hand"—and the

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masses of commuters for whom this is the dreary end of a working day rather than the too tiresome beginning of a party. Real also, and again prophetic of the later works, are the flashes of the Green perception and of the taut, distinctive Green style, now naturalistic, now poetic, now both. But too often these characteristics that we have come to look for are here overwhelmed by a superficiality and tediousness which may be demanded by the subject, but which still make this short novel too long. ROBERT WICHERT.

The East European Revolution. Hugh Seton-Watson. Praeger. $5.50.

THIS is a book about something which never happened: the author identifies Eastern Europe with an area which is sometimes called Inbetween Europe, i.e., the cluster of relatively small states located between Russia and Germany. But while in Russia there was a revolution, one which has shaken that country more strongly than any revolution ever did, in the area under the author's study, according to his own words, change has been effected "not by revolution, but by foreign conquest." This is, by the way, a form of social change commonly neglected by the sociologists, who believe that it is caused either by invention made in the midst of the changing society, or by diffusion, i.e., acceptance of inventions made elsewhere.

Change in Eastern Europe has been profound. First, that region came under direct or indirect dominance of Nazi Germany which imposed its plan of social organization. Later on, it was conquered by the rulers of Russia; they annexed it to their Empire and imposed the Communist social order.

Seton-Watson's book deals with these two social changes. It may be divided into two parts. The first, unfortunately occupying two thirds of the volume, is a narrative of the conquest, following it step by step. It is full of facts, names, dates and figures—but the reader gets lost in the abundance of details. The author did not seize the opportunity to present the story as a tragedy of trapped men and nations offered no reasonable choice: small nations located between predatory super-powers unchecked by outside forces must either surrender or pass away. . . .

The last third of the book is devoted to a functional study of change effected by Sovietization in the economic and social structure, religious situation, political organization and inter-ethnic relations. This is rather well done, but the author sometimes conveys to the reader the impression that the actions of the Communist overlords of the region were partly justified by almost insoluble demographic, economic and social problems. Mr. Seton-Watson is however by no means pro-Communist, since in the concluding chapter, entitled "East and West," he explicitly endorses the policy of active resistance of the West to conquest coming from the East. N. S. TIMASHEFF.

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Notre Dame. Richard Sullivan. Holt. $3.50.

THERE are several ways this book might have been written. It might have been a straight report on the academic and scientific achievement which the University of Notre Dame lays just claim to. It might have been a slick financial report and sugar-coated appeal for a larger endowment. It might have been a tedious history of the University and of the men—largely priests of the Holy Cross order—who have made it what it is. It might have been a tailored promotional piece, trading on the appeal of one-for-the-gipper and other established Notre Dame legends. It might have been a contrived bid to cash in on the sentimentality of Notre Dame's subway alumni. It might even have been a treatise on Catholic education.

It is none of these things and a little of all of them. Mr. Sullivan has certainly done right by the special financial and promotional needs of the University; he has not wholly slighted history; and there is enough feeling in his book to keep the legends burnished. But in the main he offers us a highly personal account of what the school, the changing community, the tradition, the place Notre Dame means to Richard Sullivan, novelist and teacher, who has spent half his life on its campus. Sullivan has stamped this story with his own winning personality and good taste. All the obvious pitfalls—pietism, sentimentalism, slickness—he carefully avoids, rather a bit too self-consciously at times, like the army chaplain determined to hold his own with the boys, and he comes through with an account of Notre Dame that is informative, humanized and very easy to read. Sullivan's book should win many new friends for the University and I hope it influences a few of them to help carry on the work that is being done there. For the author *Notre Dame* was obviously a labor of love; not so much a love letter to an untried sweetheart as a husband's words of affection and appreciation for a wife known well and intimately—a ripened feeling that depends on no illusion but the reality of undeniable, lasting virtues and charm.

JOHN COGLEY.

The Hathornes: The Story of Seven Generations of an American Family. Vernon Loggins. Columbia University Press. $5.

THIS long account of seven generations of a renowned Salem family contains so much research material that it should be tiresome and dry. It never is, and this is due, as with all good biographies, in part to the interesting characters but even more to the skill of the author.

Especially interesting is the place religion held in the lives of these seven people—a gamut running from harsh to indifferent to compassionate. William Hathorne, converted to Puritanism, departed his native England in 1630 and in America entered with zest into persecuting all dissidents. His son John, as a judge, took

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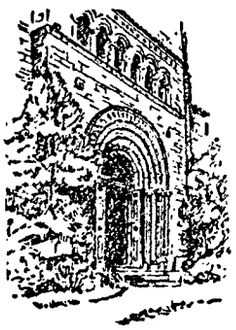

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enthusiastic part in the witchcraft hunts (I have never read a more enthralling account than this of that strange legal madness). Daniel, his son, sailed the seas and saw America freed from the old land, saw religions change and his children intermarried with sects far removed from the hard, simple faith of First Church. His son Nathaniel also went to sea, in Salem tradition, but he married in First Church, rather from force of habit than from conviction; he was lost at sea and his three children grew up poor where their ancestors had been important and rich. Nathaniel's son, also a Nathaniel, was sent to Bowdoin by an uncle, married a Salem Peabody and began his career as writer, customs inspector, consul and again writer.

Faith, in him, was a strangely mixed ancestral thing, with a curious feeling that there was need of expiating his forebears' sins of harshness —a sense of responsibility, much like Dostoievsky's, for the sin and sorrow of the world. In his younger daughter Rose, this feeling was carried to action. She returned to the old faith in which long ago Hathornes had lived, and as a Dominican nun, transferred her father's sense of expiation into loving care for God's sick poor, carrying out in fact what her father had written: that human beings owe a debt of love to one another. In her the harsh generations, the later indifference, the half-felt sense of atonement, grew to fine flower in love of both God and man.

Not to cavil a little would make a book review sound unfinished, so let me say that I felt it a singularly infelicitous thing to call Nathaniel Hawthorne "the romancer" throughout; this is too slight a word for his gifts and sounds rather condescending. And I do not like to have the long chronicle of generations end in the very last paragraph with Julian's second wife who was after all not a Hawthorne at all. These are small criticisms. The important thing is that a book so loaded with research—and the bibliographical note at the end proves this—should be so continually holding in interest. It is a chronicle of human progress, really, filled, as Pompilia said life should be, not only with the grandeur, God, but with the comfort, Christ.

KATHERINE BURTON.

A History of China. W. E. Soothill. Revised and edited by G. F. Hudson. Contemporary Book. $1.50.

THE 127 pages of this little book contain, if not infinite riches, at any rate a compact and readable survey of Chinese history from which the general reader can derive a great deal of pleasure and profit. The author, Professor Soothill, served for many years as a Methodist missionary in China and then taught at Oxford until his death in 1935. His history, first published in 1927, has been left largely unchanged in the present edition, but has been brought up to date by a supplementary chapter written by G. F. Hudson, one of Britain's leading contemporary authorities on the Far East.

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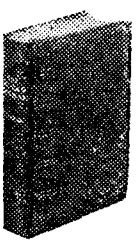

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Professor Soothill's writing betrays his nationality, for he sees nothing but good in British policy toward China during the past century. He fails to do justice to the tremendous urge toward national unity and strength which has possessed the Chinese people in recent years, and oddly enough he does not bring out the important part played by Protestant missions, as well as Catholic, in stimulating this urge.

In dealing with earlier Chinese history he also displays an insufficiently critical approach. He accepts with few questions the ancient legends as to the origins of the Chinese state, the circumstances surrounding the introduction of Buddhism into China, and so forth, and he also tends to accept the hostile traditional views of Confucian historiographers toward such unorthodox figures as Wang Mang, the famous usurper who reigned at the beginning of the Christian era, and the medieval reformer Wang An-shih. Perhaps this amounts only to saying that recent research has unearthed many things unknown when this book was written.

Mr. Hudson's supplementary chapter summarizes briefly but adequately the leading events in Chinese history since 1927. The main characteristic of this period, it seems to me, is the fact that their urge toward unity and strength led the Chinese to reject the Kuomintang when it proved unable and unwilling to satisfy their needs. When the Communists prove similarly inadequate, they may be similarly rejected, but they appear to be building what Chiang Kai-shek was never able to build, a totalitarian state; their overthrow, if it ever comes, may have to be the work of outside forces. To Mr. Hudson's credit, it should be noted that he does not succumb to the current Nationalist line with regard to the civil war, to the effect that the Soviet Union conquered China "by proxy."

With Mr. Hudson's concluding words no one acquainted with China and the Chinese can do anything but agree wholeheartedly: ". .. it can hardly be doubted that this people, which has shown so much vitality through millennia of recorded history, and has in this generation displayed such heroism in resistance to a foreign foe, will in the long run find its own way through the troubles of our times and build a new civilization worthy of . . . [China's] great past." HAROLD C. HINTON.

• REVIEWERS •

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HAROLD HINTON teaches Far Eastern history at Georgetown University.

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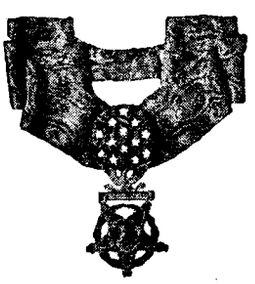

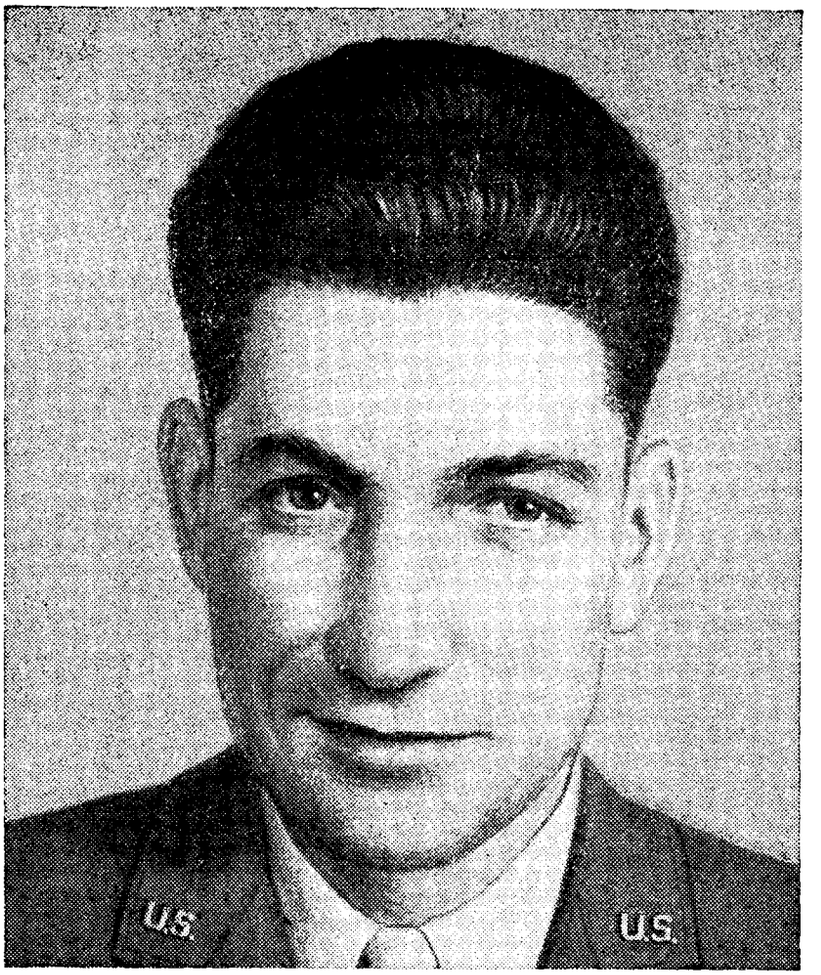

Lieutenant Frederick Henry of Clinton, Oklahoma—Medal of Honor for sacrificing himself to save his platoon in combat near Am-Dong, Korea, September 1, 1950. When the platoon could no longer hold its position, Lieutenant Henry ordered the men to pull back. But someone had to stay behind to provide covering fire. He chose to be that man, and was lost.

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